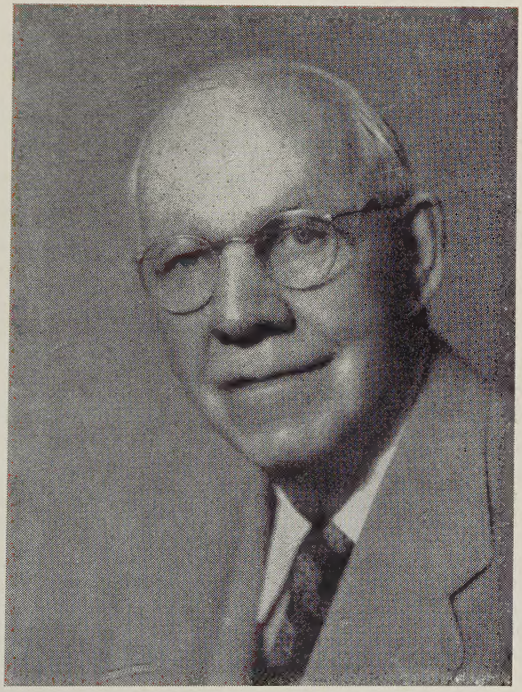
December 1957

Fellowship



ROYAL W. FRANCE *Defender*

30¢

Three Questions and a Conscience *by William Robert Miller*

contents

- **The World in Focus** 1
- **A Teacher of Logic**—John L. McKenney 5
  A fable about Jesus, told from the viewpoint of those who lived on and began to seek alternatives to his Truth, after he died.
- **Three Questions and a Conscience**—William Robert Miller 9
  When Jim Bristol went to get a passport, three "loyalty" questions blocked the path of his Quaker conscience, and something had to give.
- **Plan Five: The Story of a Man Who Likes Flowers**—Jack Ross 17
  Lessons from life on the futility of violence in human relations and on the international scene.
- **Prisoners for Peace** 20
  Christmas will not be so merry for COs in the world's prison, but Fellowship cards can help make it meaningful.
- **News** 22
- **In the Churches** 26
- **Index** 29

COVER PHOTO: Royal W. France, long-time FOR member and civil liberties attorney. His autobiography, **My Native Grounds,** was published recently by Cameron Associates. (Photo by Blackstone studios.)

FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship

The WORLD in FOCUS

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Arms Race

The near-hysteria that has characterized the reaction of American political leaders, editorialists and military men to the Russian satellites measures the extent of the collapse of American foreign policy that has occurred. That policy, based largely on the old Truman doctrine of "containment," was only a stop-gap even by non-pacifist standards. Its present utter bankruptcy is apparent in the dramatic demonstration of Soviet technological achievements. How do you achieve the military "containment" of a huge nation with the ability to send an H-bomb across the Atlantic in eighteen minutes?

The trouble is that in the absence of a new policy, Washington appears determined to clasp to its bosom the fragments of the old, however shattered. NATO, whose other members are peering uneasily into the sky and thinking their own thoughts, is to be "strengthened." Science is to be goaded into catching up with the Russians, and it may be, since Senator McCarthy is dead, that some of the scientists whipped out of the ranks a few years ago will be entreated to come home and partake of the fatted test-tube.

There is neither sense nor imagination to this response. It is an automatic reflex, seeking to defend and justify a course of action that has been indefensible for a long time. The imminence of push-button war and the unstoppable missile has been apparent since Hiroshima and the V-2. We have tried to deal with them

by pretending we could keep scientific discoveries secret, and by spending billions on "defense lines" that are obsolete in the moment of their completion.

We must not be too hard on the men in government. All of us confront the need to grow up very quickly, and it is harder for them even than for the rest of us. They are so tightly entwined in the web of intrigue and self-seeking that it requires a herculean effort even to remember that there *is* another world.

But the fact is that we have little to hope for from the men in government. Unless some of the rest of us awake to the nature of the revolution going on around us, they will have their way, and their way is that of armament races and death.

Panic!

The years of oversimplifying the international situation, so that any possible Soviet military superiority seemed almost synonymous with the outbreak of global war, reaped their reward in the sense of panic that spread over government and the press at the news that the Russians had outdistanced us. Shaky words of reassurance from Washington vied with journalistic screams that somebody do something quick, before, presumably, we all found a sputnik under our beds. And, of course, the inevitable general won his moment of glory by announcing that Europe-based American bombers could take off for the Soviet Union in fifteen minutes. In Russia, where generals speak only after getting the nod from the Kremlin, they must have a hard time understanding our civilian-controlled military!

Fortunately, each infection brings its own antibodies, and there are signs that a long-awaited awakening process may have begun. Disarmament groups of one sort or another, not exclusively pacifist, are appearing on the horizon. The most ambitious of these, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (see "News From the Peace Front"), has recruited some prominent people to urge the end of nuclear tests and world supervision of rocket and missile developments.

The end of war has become the number-one priority for the human race. All that remains is for the human race to become aware of that fact. There are signs that the awareness is coming.

Bedfellows

Two of the strangest bedfellows we know about are those owned by General Dynamics (a corporation, not a military man). Maybe bedfellows isn't quite the word to describe (1) the nature of GD's business and (2) the personality of GD's chairman and president, Mr. John Jay Hopkins, but the strangeness is indisputable.

General Dynamics is one of the country's industrial goliaths. Its Electric Boat division makes submarines for the Navy, including the new atomic-powered "Nautilus" and its successors. Its Stromberg-Carlson division makes all kinds of electronic gadgets for planes, missiles, rockets and the like. Its Convair division makes combat planes. Altogether, General Dynamics gets 85 percent of its business from war production and only 15 percent from peacetime business.

We have just been reading a speech called "Atoms for Peace" made by Mr. Hopkins in Vancouver in April, 1954, and available from General Dynamics in an attractive pamphlet. It would be nice to quote from it extensively, but space forbids. Briefly, Mr. Hopkins' thesis is that we live in a time of revolution: a revolution of underprivileged people demanding a better life, and a revolution in the production of power through atomic energy. The second revolution provides the means for satisfying the first, he argues, and of reducing "the difference between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' to something like the difference between 99 and 100 instead of the difference between 1 and 200."

The United States should take the lead in planting the seeds of power in the "have not" areas of the world, and "we must doubly underscore the fact that our purpose is to help underpowered nations to help themselves—that we are dedicated to the fostering of that spirit of individual worth and integrity, of mutual forbearance and understanding, without which any international program, however well-intentioned, is bound to fail."

The words will not seem new to readers of Fellowship, but they must make strange reading for some of General Dynamics' customers. We make it recommended reading.*

*General Dynamics Corporation is located at 445 Park Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

"Defense"

Repeat—Sputnik means that missiles may now be hurled across oceans and continents, at an altitude of 600 miles or more, at speeds up to 18,000 miles an hour.

Item—The United States has just completed its Distant Early Warning line of radar outposts, designed to warn of the approach of enemy aircraft a full two hours before they reach the U.S. It cost six billion dollars, all told. A *missile from, say, Moscow to New York, would complete the trip in* 18 *minutes.*

Item—Even the pre-Sputnik Civil Defense idea made no sense, as witness the devastating article by New York expert on city planning and traffic, Robert Moses, in the November *Harper's.* Anybody want to call up CD headquarters and see if they're not still recruiting volunteer civilian sky-watchers?

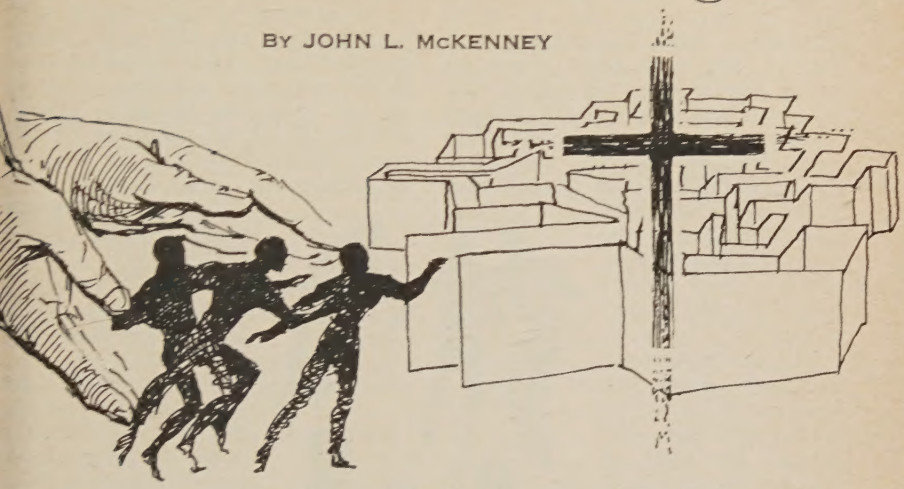
Bingo!

The voters of New York State, in the recent election, approved a constitutional amendment legalizing the playing of bingo, a minor game of chance, when done under the sponsorship of religious and other non-profit organizations. In doing so they defeated one of the most strenuous campaigns the Protestant churches of New York had put on in a long time. The New York Council of Churches had distributed 750,000 circulars in an attempt to defeat the amendment; the Sunday air was blue with sermons on the subject.

It is always astonishing to see how much indignation the church can muster against such things as church-sponsored gambling (bingo is played extensively under Roman Catholic auspices), when it is capable of so little on what sometimes seem even more urgent evils. The teetotaler has no difficulty in taking an absolute position against drinking; the non-gambler finds it easy to see the connection between the game in the church basement and organized crime; the Protestant and Catholic see clearly the shortcomings of the Catholic and Protestant. We yearn for the day that the church's holy wrath finds the slaughter of human innocents as worthy a target as the sins of the street-corner sot, and militarism as great an evil as bingo!

A Teacher of Logic

BY JOHN L. McKENNEY



THE TEACHER SAID, "If anyone of you would save yourself, you must lose yourself."

The students murmured, "Oh, good, we shall have some more of those interesting logical paradoxes he brought to class last week." It was always fun to play with paradoxes in logic class. One never felt the obligation to pay too much attention, for after all, the teacher admitted he was dealing in paradox. He would never ask the class to be responsible for the answers to the problems, because a paradox by its very nature has no answer.

The teacher said, "Now paradoxes are for your general enlightenment. They teach you something of the basic principles of rational thought, yet they are not to be taken too seriously as to their content."

The class recalled the paradox of the habitual liar who said, "All men, including myself, are liars and never tell the truth." No one took the factual assertion literally. It was but a paradox, as the case of the box which contained all the boxes in the world, with no exception. What fun! Like the clean-shaven male barber who shaved all men and only those men who did not shave themselves—excellent entertainment for the growing mind.

The students listened as the teacher repeated his paradox and began to rack their brains for the clue that would reveal the way out. They knew that a paradox results from the manner in which a problem is stated or formulated. If you find the correct way to formulate a paradox, it is resolved. How would the teacher resolve this paradox? In the case of the barber, the

class was able to see that the statement should be in the form: If *anyone* is a male barber named "Blank," then Blank shaves those and only those who do not shave themselves. And the teacher had pointed out that there were no actual people (he said "values for the variables") to fill the blanks, for such would have produced a contradiction, and all contradictions are false. Could the opening problem be like that paradox? There are no actual people who fill the spots where "anyone" and "Blank" occur.

But the class never knew what the teacher's answer would have been, for just as he began to explain the paradox, he was interrupted by a knock. "Come with us," the officers said. And the students never again saw their teacher in the classroom.

Many years later some of the students who had been there on that fateful day were discussing what had happened.

"Why didn't we stop them from taking him away?" said one.

"That would have been illegal," said another.

"There is a dilemma," said a third. "If we tried to stop them, then we would violate the law of the land, and if we didn't try, we were violating our trust in him. But we either had to try to stop them or not try, hence we either violated the law of the land or we violated our trust in him." Oh, how the teacher would have been proud to see how well they had remembered the structure of the formal dilemma!

"What shall we talk about now?" said the first. He was embarrassed to admit that he had forgotten how to get out of the dilemma—that is, he had forgotten all ways except that of taking the dilemma by the horns. And this he did not wish to do, since he had married the daughter of a trustee from the old Alma Mater.

One of his companions, however, insisted on pursuing the dilemma.

"Remember," he prodded, "the dilemma our old teacher used to state about 'he who is not against me is for me,' and 'he who is not for me is against me'?" "No dilemma at all," objected the first man. "That is a paradox!"

"Fooey," replied a Phi Bete in the crowd. "Its plain to see that the key to the problem is in the ambiguity of the words 'for' and 'against.'" With this wise solution to the problem, he sat back smugly in his seat.

His friends marveled at this wise word, agreeing that "for" and "against" were indeed ambiguous. "For" might mean "not against" and yet "for" might mean "committed to." Again, "against" might mean "not for" or it might mean "opposed to." This allows one to reduce the original statement to the truism, "he who is for me is for me, and he who is against me,

is against me." No problem there. No challenge. No concern as to whether one is for or against, committed to or opposed to, as there was according to the way the teacher told the story when he referred to those who, while seeming to share common goals, don't all belong to the same group, organization, or association as oneself.

Oh, how good it was that the teacher had explained that many words and concepts are ambiguous, having more than one clear and definite meaning! Now the old grads knew there was no paradox, no dilemma here in the statement. Only ambiguity and, in any event, no responsibility fell upon the student. Paradox, dilemma, ambiguity all free one from action. One can explain away the problems, and forget them.

"You know," mused another of the group, "he was an awfully vague fellow."

"Who?"

"Our old teacher! He never pinned things down. You could never be sure what his words meant or whether he had a clear and distinct idea behind each phrase he used."

The group agreed. One couldn't really be a very good teacher and be so vague so much of the time. Each man reflected upon the vagueness that ran through their old teacher's lessons. He was particularly vague when questioned about who would receive his position when he left the University. He vaguely referred to the meek, the poor, the pure in heart, the peacemakers, those who mourned and those who suffered persecution.

And when asked who these were, when asked who specifically would occupy his chair in philosophy, he vaguely replied that it was not his to determine. He told all his students to use their talents to the glory of God, but he was vague as to what each man's talents were. (Of course the word "talent" is ambiguous as well, meaning a Roman monetary unit as well as an aptitude.) And what did he mean when he said that those who are well have no need of a physician? Who was talking about medicine? Besides being vague, ambiguous, and paradoxical, he was always shifting the subject under discussion.

The group was warming up to the challenge of one another to find more examples of the teacher's vagueness. One spoke up, "Remember the time he was asked whether one ought to pay his taxes? He evaded the question by asking 'Whose name is on your currency?' You remember?"

"Yes," responded another, "and he was always saying that we should love him and when asked how one should love him, he would say 'If you love me, keep my commandments.' Then when you would ask him what his commandments were, he replied in a circular manner, 'Love God and love your neighbor as yourself.'"

Some of them didn't see why this was circular, so the speaker explained, with feigned wisdom, "Since we can accept the premise that he was either God or he was our neighbor, 'If you love me, keep my commandments' becomes the circular proposition 'If you love God or your neighbor, then love God and your neighbor.'"

The group began to argue that such a proposition as "Either it is raining or it is Monday, or possibly both" simply does not imply "It is raining and it is Monday." The

question of fact as to whether the old teacher was God or was their neighbor, or possibly both—this factual question never entered their minds, so busy were they arguing about logical formalities. They did all agree, however, when one of them said: "He never did clearly define 'neighbor,' did he? Just gave us a little story about a man who was beaten up by some robbers. How vague can you get?"

One member of the party began to feel remorse at how they had all attacked their old teacher. In defense of the old school, if not of the old teacher, he countered, "Well, you can't say all our teachers were vague! Remember Mr. Stone? He was always clear and precise." They all agreed, for none could forget the clarity and precision with which Peter Stone had stated his position at the investigation in the house where the officers had taken the teacher. When asked if he were of the same school of thought as the suspected academician, Stone replied, "I do not know him." Such precision! No vagueness there. No ambiguity.

"Yes," summarized one of the teacher's star pupils, "I was very pleased at Stone's precise answers at the inquiry. He did better, if I may say so, than the teacher himself. Remember how the teacher replied to the crucial question at the trial? The judges challenged him to tell the court what he was trying to teach, and he answered so ambiguously and vaguely, 'If I tell you, you will not believe.' And the judges sarcastically countered by asking 'Who do you think you are? Jesus Christ himself?' And instead of denying it he said, 'You say that I am.' "

The indictment against the teacher was complete. By convicting him of vagueness and ambiguity, of posing dilemma and paradox, the old students had cleansed their consciences of the guilt of having forgotten what he had taught them. Beyond the mere formal structure of his doctrine the struggling students had been unable to comprehend the truths which he proclaimed. They had not understood him, so quick were they to say "What is this that he says to us...?" and "We don't know what he means."

Alas, the teacher's bright and brilliant pupils forgot that a short while before the officers interrupted the last lesson, he had stated that "the hour is coming when I shall no longer speak to you in figures but tell you plainly. . . ." The time for paradox would soon be past and the time for final exams would be at hand.

Three Questions AND A *Conscience*

By WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER

WITHIN LIVING MEMORY, the use of passports by Americans traveling abroad was once the exception, not the rule. If you wanted to go to faraway places, you just up and went, and if you carried a United States passport it was largely for the purpose of insuring you against incarceration in a foreign jail.

More recently, however, what used to be a kind of letter of introduction from Uncle Sam has gradually become a coveted exit permit, without which an American citizen cannot legally get out of the country. It is ironic that such a curb on freedom of travel occurred during the very same period when it became increasingly possible for ordinary citizens to travel long distances in a rapidly dwindling period of time. Alongside the use of nuclear weapons stockpiles to prevent war, this is indeed a comparatively minor paradox, but more of such "progress" might eventually bring us to the point where, like citizens of the Soviet Union, we would need a passport to travel from city to city within our own homeland.

What sort of restrictions are placed on Americans who want to go abroad, anyway? Suppose we let the U.S. Department of State answer this question—among the various items of information it wants from passport applicants are these:

"1. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?
2. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?
3. If ever a member, state period of membership."

If you don't furnish the right answers to these three questions, you can't get out of the country. Max Schachtman, chairman of the Independent Socialist League,

which has consistently opposed Stalinism (as well as Malenkovism and Khrushchevism) was kept from leaving the Land of the Free for several years because he was a member of the Communist Party back in the twenties. The fact that he was rudely kicked out of the CP for being allied with Stalin's arch-foe, Leon Trotsky, didn't make any difference to the State Department. As far as it was concerned, Schachtman might just as well have been the Kremlin's number-one American agent. Only after a long, drawn-out tussle in the courts, which went all the way up to the Supreme Court, did Schachtman finally get his passport.

Perhaps, then, it is better not to answer at all if you can't give the right answers. Paul Robeson, the Communist singer, tried this approach. The last London concert at which he sang presented his voice by trans-Atlantic telephone. Not without reason, the Communists both here and abroad have made considerable propaganda out of the curb on Robeson's freedom.

"I don't think I could answer"

Such was the situation that confronted FOR member James E. Bristol when he decided, just a year ago, to pull up stakes in Philadelphia, where he was in charge of the American Friends Service Committee's Peace Education Program, and go to India as director of the Quaker International Center in Delhi.

The day after he had decided to go to India, Jim attended a meeting of AFSC program directors on the AFSC's Rights of Conscience program at which Stephen G. Cary happened to mention a passport case in El Salvador that was current then, and which involved the three questions about Communist Party membership.

Until that moment, Jim had not given any serious thought to the matter, but suddenly he began to wonder aloud, "Well, what about me? You know, I have to get a passport to go to India, and I really don't think I could answer those questions."

Jim Bristol is no Bolshevik, either of the present or past variety. On the contrary, he is the kind of Quaker for whom Lenin had the greatest contempt. As a pacifist, he would have been classed among the worst of the bourgeoisie. He is a different kind of revolutionary, for whom the means are as important as the ends, and who is completely immune to the loopholes of expediency once he has found what he believes to be the right thing to do.

The question had come up before, in the minds of other AFSC staff members, but it had always been settled by deciding that the important thing was to get where they had to go. Surely a man is not to be reproached for telling the truth in order to get where he wants to go, especially if he is needed there for the kind of work the AFSC does.

Nevertheless, Jim felt strongly that it was wrong of the government to ask him those questions, and for him that was that; he would not countenance the government's wrong by helping them to commit it.

Meanwhile, the issue receded in importance as Jim became involved in making the arrangements for the trip to India. He booked passage on the Mauretania, to sail for England on September 5, 1957. After conferring there from September 12 to 18 with British Friends, he would continue on to India.

Taking up residence with your family on the other side of the world is no cinch, especially if you are not fabulously rich. Among other things the Bristols' teen-age daughter, Christina, had to be withdrawn from the Fall semester at school, the house had to be rented and the family car sold. Jim's decision put the whole family out on a limb. He might have had to think differently if his wife, Dee, and Tina had not made their own decisions that it was the right thing to do. It was no rubber-stamp affair, either, for even Tina has a mind of her own, as she has demonstrated by her independent readiness to do the right thing on many occasions.

There were other complications as well. Prof. Norman Whitney of Syracuse University, another FOR member, retired from the faculty in February to take over Jim's job in Philadelphia, permitting a few months of transitional overlap. In Delhi, a British Quaker couple, the Lawrences, had made arrangements to retire in August. If Jim was unable to get his passport, who would fill the Delhi vacancy? Should the AFSC send someone else until Jim's case was cleared up? And what about the job he was leaving? Someone would have to be inconvenienced. If he didn't go to Delhi, Jim would have to be assigned to a new AFSC position, at least temporarily.

It was no simple matter, this decision of conscience; its practical consequences meant that quite a number of people, but especially the Bristol family, were entering a suspenseful state in which every decision had to be provisional.

On February 8, 1957, Jim Bristol sent his application to Mrs. Frances Knight, director of the Passport Division of the State Department. With it, he sent a letter in which he stated: "In filling out the attached application for a passport I have been unable in good conscience to answer the three questions that pertain to membership in the Communist Party." The letter went on to detail Jim's objections to the questions as "a dangerously undemocratic approach to the whole problem of preserving and strengthening our democratic heritage." He acknowledged the sincerity of the State Department's motives, but pointed out the bad effects of the policy. "Particularly unfair," he wrote, "is the implication that people may be penalized for their past associations regardless of how completely they may have been repudiated."

Duplicates of this letter were filed at the same time with Dee's and Tina's applications. The Bristols were far from optimistic about the outcome. Some of Jim's friends assured him that it would be a snap—the Bristols, after all, are no Communists. Others said they would never get their passports.

In order to help expedite matters, AFSC Chairman Henry J. Cadbury wrote to Mrs. Knight at the same time the Bristols filed their applications. Expressing the views of the AFSC's Board of Directors, Dr. Cadbury said: "It is our clear conviction that there is no

proper place in passport applications for inquiries into associations and beliefs. The disclosure which a test oath exacts is a first step in the process of thought control." The true test of loyalty, said Dr. Cadbury, is personal conduct. By ignoring this, "the passport application in its present form, we believe, impairs those freedoms which it is intended to protect" and does not actually safeguard "the well-being and inner security which all of us wish for our nation."

Weeks of Waiting

The Bristols waited nearly a month without hearing from Mrs. Knight. On March 1, not they but Henry Cadbury received a letter. "Their applications are now under consideration," the brief note said, "and you will be appropriately advised at a later date in this matter."

After this, a long wait ensued. Days and weeks passed, and there was no action. Finally, on May 2, AFSC Associate Executive Secretary Colin W. Bell went to Washington and spent three hours in conversation with Mrs. Knight and Robert Johnson, the Passport Division's legal advisor. He was received with extreme cordiality, but encountered unyielding opposition to Jim Bristol's and the AFSC's viewpoint. It was apparently up to Johnson to write a legal recommendation, and he was plainly disposed to write an unfavorable one. After all, he argued, other Quakers had answered the three questions. He even alluded to a couple of cases in which Quakers had not fulfilled the exact requirements of the statement, but had received passports anyway. In one case, an applicant had answered the questions but filed a protest along with the application; another applicant had furnished an alternative statement which asserted the same general facts.

Johnson was evidently willing to oblige, but boggled at Jim's specific repudiation of the inquisitorial principle behind the loyalty check. At one point Johnson made the extraordinary suggestion that a special exit-and-reentry permit might be devised which would enable the Bristols to leave and come back without giving them a passport. Colin Bell replied that the AFSC was not seeking preferential treatment, and that the principles involved would not be satisfied by resort to a gimmick of any kind.

Both Johnson and Mrs. Knight repeatedly stressed that it was the Passport Division's duty to meet the requirements of the law. They appeared to be most eager to find a way out—if only the Bristols would let them. Finally, a date was set for Dee and Jim to confer with them about the matter.

A Visit to Washington

On May 10, the intransigent Quakers went to Washington and talked with the perplexed passport officials. The discussion was not unlike the one that Colin Bell had had with them, unless perhaps Robert Johnson put his viewpoint more forcefully. Johnson mentioned that a Quaker professor from the University of Oregon had recently applied for a passport to Nepal, where he was going to work for the Technological Cooperation Administration, the agency of the Point Four program. This man had taken the same position as the Bristols when it came to the three questions. After a long talk with Johnson, he decided to compromise by answering the questions and appending a note of protest.

No doubt Johnson hoped that he could persuade the Bristols to accept a similar compromise. If they would sign a supplementary statement in lieu of answering the three offensive questions, he said, he could hand them their passports in thirty minutes. Johnson had no real doubt of the Bristols' loyalty and was in fact eager to find some way, within the regulations, to accommodate both their scruples and his.

The McCarran Act, upon which the three questions were based, forbids issuing passports to Communist Party members, to persons who are deemed Communist sympathizers, and to others—decent well-meaning but naive people who might become dupes of Communist propaganda. The issuance of passports to any of these people was considered inimical to the welfare of the country, Johnson explained.

Should so much power be vested in a government that it might choose to detain such people within its borders? Civil libertarians may differ on this question. The Bristols concede that the government does have that right, but insist, as they told Robert Johnson, that the test should be that of individual conduct, not present or past affiliations. The three questions do not refer to what an individual has done, but only to the label he wears.

At one point in the conversation, Johnson was trying to explain that passport security regulations are needed for the same reason that individuals protect themselves—"just as you lock your door at night."

"But Mr. Johnson," Jim replied, "we *don't* lock our door." He told how the early Quaker settlers had lived at peace with the Indians in Pennsylvania, going unarmed and trusting in God to keep them from harm. Neither they nor the Bristols relied upon locked doors for their safety.

Johnson tried every argument he could think of. He even said that if he granted their application minus the three questions, it would weaken the State Department's case in the courts against other applicants of less certain loyalty who were seeking to overturn the three questions.

To Higher Echelons

It became evident, as Colin Bell had surmised earlier, that the question would have to be settled in the upper echelons of the State Department, since Dee and Jim remained adamant. They made it unmistakably clear that there was only one way out. "We don't want an exception made for us," Jim told Johnson, "or for Quakers. We'll take the consequences for our actions. We claim this right as a right of all American citizens."

The discussion thus ended in an impasse. Johnson was most courteous, expressed sympathy for the inconvenience the Bristols were being caused, and assured them that he would do his best to obtain a speedy decision from higher up. On their way out, they met Mrs. Knight, who was warm and gracious to them. "I understand your

position," she said. Johnson escorted them downstairs and was very solicitous of their welfare, recommending restaurants and inquiring about their traveling arrangements for their return to Philadelphia.

A week later, the Bristols received a letter from Mrs. Knight informing them that their case was being submitted to "higher authority in the Department." This was followed on May 23 by a phone call from Johnson to Jim Bristol at his AFSC office.

Johnson had thought of a new gimmick. "Will you write me a personal note that would satisfy the requirements?"

"No, sorry."

"Well then, suppose you could just give me a statement in your own words over the phone?"

"No, not even that." The matter had been reduced to the tiniest pinch of incense that could effect infidelity of conscience. Johnson then reiterated that he would pursue the matter at a higher level of authority, and that was that.

Shortly before Mrs. Knight wrote to the Bristols, AFSC Executive Secretary Lewis M. Hoskins wrote to Christian A. Herter, Under Secretary of State, calling his attention to the Bristol case and suggesting that Herter confer with a few members of the AFSC's Board of Directors about the three questions in general. On May 30 he received a reply from Herter saying that the larger issue was under consideration, and affirming that the Bristol case "is receiving our urgent attention. I can assure you that the Bristols will be afforded every consideration, and that when a decision is reached . . . they will be promptly informed."

With only three months to go before the originally scheduled embarkation date, the affairs of the Bristol family and the AFSC were in a hectic state. Should they take a chance on renting the house and selling the car? What about Tina's schooling? How would the vital nexus at Delhi be staffed?

Lewis Hoskins wrote to Under Secretary Herter once more on June 4, and again on June 12. A terse reply was received June 26. The policy decision was still pending, and would not be made until late in the summer.

Stalemate or Dead End?

On the basis of this information, the Bristols and the AFSC revised their Fall plans. Jim canceled passage on the Mauretania, told people he was not selling his car, and pretty much gave up the idea that he and Dee would ever go to India. If they did go, it would probably be only after a long siege in court; if they won, they would not be in Delhi before Fall 1958 at the earliest. The AFSC, for its part, was now backing the Bristols right down the line on this thing, and were preparing a stopgap arrangement at the Delhi center until the Bristols were able to go. As for Norman Whitney and Jim himself, some kind of decision had to be made by August 2. Norman insisted that Jim should remain in his job until he got his passport. Jim insisted that if anyone was to be inconvenienced it should be he, not Norman.

For the next act in this seemingly interminable drama, the scene shifted unexpectedly. On July 25, during his ABC network newscast, radio commentator Edward P. Morgan took up the cudgels in these terms, after giving some of the background of Jim's case and others: "The Friends Service Com-

mittee is prepared to go to court unless State comes through with [Bristol's] passport. Reportedly the Department heartily wants to issue it and is trying to come up with a policy decision by which it can. The Quakers' thoughtful and courageous position in this case would suggest that there is a less disingenuous way of combatting Communism than asking the traveler, in effect, if he is going abroad on a mission of espionage."

The Bristols were taking a needed vacation in Maine when the broadcast occurred. When Jim returned to the AFSC office on Monday, July 29, there was a note on his desk asking him to phone Allen J. White, director of the Quaker International Centers program.

Allen was full of news. First, Edward P. Morgan had phoned him the day of the broadcast to get the facts of Jim's case. Then there was the broadcast itself, and afterwards another phone call, this one from Allen White to Robert Johnson, who broadly hinted that a decision would be issued any day now and said he thought the State Department would be able to "work it out satisfactorily."

The decision did not come that day or the next. How soon was soon? With Jim's job plans to be decided by Friday, every moment was stretched out with anxious tension.

"You can start packing"

On Wednesday evening, at the Bristol home, the phone rang. Dee answered it. "This is Robert Johnson," the voice said; "you can start packing. I'm sending your passports by special delivery."

Little did Johnson know how much "packing" the Bristols had to do. The next two months made their earlier bustling efforts look like a typical day in the life of Rip Van Winkle. Somehow, by a series of small miracles, they disposed of the car, rented the house, packed their belongings and secured passage on the Norwegian freighter Hoegh Trader to sail on October 1 from Brooklyn to Bombay via Beirut, Port Said and Karachi. They were not able to meet with British Quakers in London as they had wanted to, and they were a little late, but on November 2 they were in India, and by Christmas they ought to be settled in their new household and hard at work promoting international understanding in the spirit of peace on earth among men of good will.

In retrospect, the inconveniences tend to pale beside their visible results. Besides the direct boon of reaching his destination with a clear conscience, Jim Bristol is also heartened by the effects of the decision on other people. FOR member Earle Edwards, for example, applied in June for a passport to Poland. He wrote a simple "No" to the first question but refused to answer the other two. He got his passport in August. Another FOR member, Doris Shamleffer of Baltimore, wanted to go to Europe for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She rejected all three questions in April

and didn't seem to be getting anywhere until the Bristol decision. She got her passport at the same time Edwards got his.

Jim Bristol is convinced that a good deal of the reason why he won without going to court was the absence of bluster and bragadoccio from the way he presented his case. He didn't feel it would help win his rights if he went to the State Department on a soapbox and brayed indignantly about how they were trampling all over his rights. He does not think the spectacle of the "irate citizen" is calculated to elicit from government officials the kind of sympathetic response he got from Robert Johnson and Frances Knight. If you want to be listened to, you have to be an empathic listener yourself. When you are anxious to make yourself heard, you may be tempted to shout at the top of your voice. But it may work out better, Jim believes, if you do your shouting at the top of your conscience, and keep your voice on a level of good will.

Jim Bristol is a mild-mannered man, an earnest Christian and an outspoken pacifist. He has not brought the millenium, but who can doubt that he has helped to point the way?

Sanity, Security and Sincerity

Almost without realizing it, we are adopting the language of madmen. We talk of "clean" hydrogen bombs, as though we are dealing with the ultimate in moral refinement. We use fairyland words to describe a mechanism that in a split second can incinerate millions of human beings—not dummies or imitations but real people, exactly the kind that you see around your dinner table. What kind of monstrous imagination is it that can connect the word "clean" to a device that will put the match to man's cities?

* * * * *

. . . Nothing can be more damaging to our security than to allow the idea to get around that we are not really sincere in what we have been saying officially about our desire for arms control. Soviet Russia has been charging us with insincerity. If we now confirm that charge by what we ourselves do, then we will have suffered a loss in the world that no quantity of hydrogen explosives, however "clean," can offset.

No one argues against the proposition that we can't expect to deal effectively with the threat of Communism without some measure of moral influence or leadership in the world. But moral leadership means what it says. And there is nothing either moral or influential about separating ourselves from the deeply held hopes of people everywhere.

—Norman Cousins,
in **The Saturday Review.**

PLAN FIVE:

The Story of a Man Who Likes Flowers

By JACK ROSS

I HAVE A FRIEND who lives near my house in the west side of Chicago. He is about 35 years of age. He dresses conservatively, as befits a man in the employment counseling business. He is polite, modest, soft-spoken. He is married and has one child. Because he is a Negro he has had to live in the crowded, blighted part of the city.

He likes to walk in the park on nice spring days and look at the flowers. On one of the few warm early spring days this year he walked west of our house and saw a "For Rent" sign in the window. The rent was more than he could afford, but he moved in after deciding to get a part-time job at night to help pay the extra amount. He didn't attach much significance to the fact that it was an all-white neighborhood.

Five days passed. The landlord began to get anonymous threats by phone. Another warm night came, and rocks were thrown through the windows. About 1:00 A.M. shots were heard and eleven bullets entered the second-story windows where my friend was trying to sleep.

Another night was warm too, and a crowd gathered more suddenly than we expected, as if on prearranged signal. The police were surprised, and could hardly keep the surging, hysterical mob from the door.

Inside, another drama was being enacted. Here are the characters: the landlord and his wife, the renter and his wife and her friend, two human relations experts, myself and another Quaker. Things all happened so swiftly then. Stop pacing . . . don't stand by the window, they'll shoot for sure . . . how many are there? . . . phone for more police . . . that's the whole district now and they're losing . . . phone anyone who'll come . . . ask them to bring a gun . . . I wonder how this knife will do? . . . get a brick . . . call the mayor . . . listen to them now . . . oh why didn't I

bring my gun? . . . an American has got a right to live where he wants, hasn't he . . . what do you mean, it's all my imagination; I tell you there is a riot out there; no, I won't forget it and come to dinner at your house . . . look at them just sitting there . . . when the press gets here be sure and praise the police like we always do . . . do you think they'll use Plan Five...?

Then suddenly it was over. More police came and they drove the mob back. The next night there were about a hundred policemen around the block, and no mob could gather. Friday was another warm day, and that evening we joined the family and the landlord and his wife and we planted flowers—perennials—raked up the debris, and tried to do all that good neighbors should do in the spring.

This all sounds like a fantasy. I wish it were, but it is all too true. It is what happens in this city, and in every other big American city, many times each year.

It would be constructive to ask why?

Some very good answers are being given to that question in the work of the city planners, the community organizers, and by the many research projects now under way. While I was in the house during the riot and afterwards, however, I was struck by the sharp analogy of the situation to that of international relations, and it is these things I want to share now.

Plan Five is the maximum police mobilization to meet mob violence. They didn't put it into effect that particular night, but they came close. It seems to me that we are about at that stage in our international relations. Our local police were under orders not to use their guns, just as our airmen may not drop the A-bombs that they can carry. Once police guns are used, the mob is justified in retaliation, and then more.

I felt very insecure under police protection. I knew they wouldn't shoot, but the mob didn't. The mob was afraid of what was inside the house. If they could only have seen how afraid we were! They were afraid of the police, but it didn't keep them from being a mob. Milton Mayer's Dicken says, "I don't care if he *is* bigger than me—I'm going to sock him anyhow," and I knew mobs were like that and I was afraid.

Useless Weapons

The policeman who can't use his gun, yet has it in sight as a threat, is the most ludicrous of men. Such is the job of the air force which dares not fight. The police would

be better off if they had never carried guns, and certainly they would be more effective.

Our human relations experts were bewildered too. They outpaced the rest of us by a good margin. They were in a tough spot, brought in at the last minute to put out a fire someone else had started. They reminded me of our Secretary of State, rushing about here and there, trying to apply military sanctions in the absence of a history or organization adequate to prevent violence by social pressure. At that stage, sanctions of violence are all the benevolent powers can use. The sanctions always sow new discord which erupts in new times and new places. Power, by its very nature, not capable of rational application.

We Needed a Good Past

What we needed that bad night was not more power but a history of three years of good community organization, in the way that the United States suddenly needs a good past in West Asia and Africa. It is always that way when you rely on the use of military power: you never build enduring structures because your aim is destruction. The trouble with rushing off to joust with dragons, as we have been doing, is that the rascals are always springing up behind you. Arms can force an immediate cessation of outright conflict, but the policy is futile for long-run solutions, and that is our need. And, ultimately, the policy always fails, because the dragon hunter one day becomes a dragon.

Inside the house we Quakers sat and meditated, and at that time it was all we had to offer. My friends wanted guns and they had a knife. In such a situation we were the least futile, because we had nothing and they had something. But we were all futile.

Is it therefore too late for community organizations, for world law, for the safety of not being protected? I went through an event just like this one four years ago, and they said then that it was too late in that neighborhood. We went through it five years ago—and they said it was too late then too. We saw it in the Cicero riots, and read of it a hundred times. They always said it was too late, and it always is if you want it to be, but it really wasn't too late then and it isn't now. It is never too late for the Christian, because all he dares to ask is that the agony of the Cross not be prolonged, and as long as you don't have a sword you always have a Cross.

Next Summer Will Tell

The violence began on Palm Sunday. For the landlord it was Passover. For all of us it was spring, the time of planting, of growing again. We planted perennials and we hoped to see them bloom in the summer. The hot days of late summer are riot weather in Chicago every year. Irritations grow and rise with the heat, and people congregate on the steps and in the streets, and small incidents become large ones. This summer, fortunately, no race riot happened. As a result of the spring violence, however, we have started a small organization of neighbors to stand up against it if it should flare up again and to put a check rein on possible panic selling of houses. Perhaps by next summer we shall see if we have planted well. Certainly we were very late, and there is much to pray for and much to do.

Prisoners for PEACE

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD this month, Christians are preparing to celebrate the 1957th anniversary of the birth of the Prince of Peace. Throughout the same world, hundreds of men are in prison for taking the Gospel of Peace seriously.

The following is pacifism's international Honor Roll of conscientious objectors. When you draw up your list of friends to whom you are sending Fellowship cards, think how much it would mean to you, if you were an imprisoned CO, to know that you were not forgotten. Send cards to as many as you can afford, preferably by air mail. NOTE: *Only your name and address may be written on cards.*

To save space, addresses are given here in reverse order. For example, the first man on the list, should be addressed: Marc Garcet, Eben-Emael, Bruxelles, Belgium.

BELGIUM

Eben-Emael
Garcet, Marc

Prison de Forest, Bruxelles
Cornélis, Fernand

DENMARK

Danish war resisters are in three camps. Collective greetings should be addressed to: *Tillidsmaendene, Militaernaegterlejren.*

Grisbskov, Maarum

Oksbo

Kompedal Engesvang

FRANCE

c/o Mme. Luthi, 9 rue du Château, Ancenis (L. I.)
Rezer, Jean-Claude (7th year)

Prison-Fort Nomeri, Bizerte, Tunisie
Parybylski, Richard

Fort du Hâ, Bordeaux
Legendre, Marcel

Maison Centrale de Clairvaux (Aube)
Claudel, Jean
Schmitt, Louis

Prison de Clairvaux (Aube)
Nisselbeck, Othon

M. Giraud, Col d'Artaud, Villa la Pitchounette, La Seyne (Var.)
Meiffred, André

Prison de Constantine, Algerie
Lavignac, Jean

l'Etape (B. du R.), Domaine du Travèze
Ducroux, Roger

Maison Centrale de Fontevrault (M. et L.)
Cesbron, André
Intering, Pierre
Kainap, Sylvestre
Meunier, Paul
Paré, Alain
Peciak, Henri
Piotrowicz, Tadées
Vancopenolle, Fedèle

Prison de Fresnes (Seine)
Bielecki, Jean
Bourille, Claude
Boussou, Paul
Fasny, Casimir
Filon, Marcel
Guittard, Michel
Maillard, François
Raphael, Jean-Claude
Sikora, Henri, No. 6002, 2me division, cellule 195

Tronina, Edouard
Val, René
Wavro, César

57 rue Carnot, Levallois- Perret (Seine)
Desmazieres, Christian

Prison de Lisieux, Calvados
Domanski, Joseph
Popeye, Joseph (7th year)

Maison Cellulaire de Loos (Nord)
Roszyk, Jean, No. 1149, cellule 75

c/o M. Wladislaw Myslikowski, à Loupeigne, par la Fere en Tardenois (Aisne)
Myslikowski, Jean

c/o Mme. de Nardo, 21 rue Lalande, Lyon (Rhône)
Nardo, Pierre de

Fort de Montluc, Lyon (Rhône)
Boissadie, René
Cochard, Marcel
Couly, Gaston
Gerber, Jean
Labitte, Christian
Marchiaczik, Henock
Maunier, Michel
Meyer, François
Vuillamier, Lucien

34 rue Sisley, Lyon (Rhône)
Lorenzini, Pierre

53 rue de Raucourt, Masny (Nord)
Piotrowicz, Simon

Maison d'Arrêt, 31 rue du Cambout, Metz (Moselle)
Blondel, Jacques
Bouillé, Serge
Compte, Jean
Daguerret, Raymond
Elsaesser, Henri
Faffer, Valentin
Jung, Eugène
Kosc, Nicolas
Maufran, Georges
Miliani, Guido
Planche, Guy
Ragueneau, Jean
Six, Pierre
Thierry, Robert (7th year)

3 rue de la Solidarité, Montrouge (Seine)
Bernard, Michel

54 rue de la Mer Rouge, a Mulhouse-Dornach (Ht. Rhin.)
Schaguene, Edmond (9th year)

34 rue des Flandres, Noyelles sous Lens (P. de C.)
Drozan, Richard

c/o Mme. Jean Cavroy, 21 rue des Wingles, Noyelles sous Lens (P. de C.)
Verschaeve, Joseph

Prison d'Orleansville
Hoeberle, Jean-Paul, M.A. 1404, Couloir No. 5

24 rue de l'Annonciation, Paris 16me.
Barbier, Gilbert (6th year)

Prison de Poissy (S. et O.)
Gueu, Serge

Prison de Rennes, Boulevard Jacques Cartier, Rennes (I. et V.)
Chenu, Jean
Rezer, Dominique

c/o Marcel Flamein, 22 rue Forbin, à Rosendael (Nord)
Flamein, Michel

c/o M. Rudolph Pieprzyk, Rue des Fossés, Tremblay-les-Gonesse (S. et O.)
Pieprzyk, Jean

GREAT BRITAIN

H. M. Prison, Eastchurch, Kent
Bolton, Raymond

H. M. Prison, Lewes, Sussex
Broughton, Albert J.
Chapman, Eugene
King, Peter

H. M. Prison, Pattison's Farm, Aldington, Nr. Ashford, Kent
Blight, Peter

c/o 13 Union Road, Macduff, Banffshire, Scotland
Turner, Alex McH.

c/o "Edhilton", Bridgewood, Maidston Road, Nr. Rochester, Kent
Moore, Brian M.

ITALY

Castello Angioino, Gaeta Prison (Latina)
Borgo, Antonio
Gazzotti, Guiseppe
Ennis, Alfarano
Timonerni, Guiseppe
Villanova, ——

There are many others, addresses unknown.

NETHERLANDS

Amsterdam-West, Orteliusstraat 58
Heilbron, Chris

Amsterdam-West, Elis. Wolffstraat 65
Graaf, Olof de

Eindhoven, Floralaan W 200
Nes, Jan van

Elim, Hogeveen, Dorpsstraat 41
Boertien, Berend

Franeker, Zilverstraat 51
Postma, Wybren

Hemrik nr. 40
Romkema, Hendrik

Herenveen, Burg. van Ensstraat 11
Wit, Johannes de

Rotterdam, Dirk Muidenstraat 26
Kessel, Arnold van

Zaandam, Plataanlaan 10
Takkenberg, John

(continued on page 25)

NEWS from the Peace Front

Attendance Good At Washington Vigil

The Prayer and Conscience Vigil which started in Washington, D. C. on November 1 to protest the continued testing of nuclear weapons (See "News" November FELLOWSHIP) got off to a good start with 40 people attending during the first weekend and fifty the second. As FELLOWSHIP goes to press, a greater number are expected to participate during the rest of the month-long Vigil.

Charles Walker, FOR Middle Atlantic Regional Secretary, who was "loaned" to the Vigil as its Project Manager, reports that a daily vigil was held in front of the White House with the participants carrying no placards but just walking quietly up and down in an attitude of prayer and meditation (see cut). They wore blue armbands. Leaflets were distributed to passersby. These were received with great interest and, said Walker, few were thrown away.

Visits were to be made to the Soviet and British Embassies. Various "opinion makers" and national organizations and agencies have already been contacted.

Seminars were held to train people for work in local communities and author and philosopher Lewis Mumford was to address the final meeting on December 1.

The Vigil received good publicity with newspaper and television coverage throughout the country.

A similar vigil was to be held on Saturday, November 30 at Marsh Chapel, Boston University School of Theology. On Sunday, FOR National Council member Richard A. Chartier was to speak in connection with a poster walk on Boston Common, which would then proceed as a parade to Charles Street Friends Meeting House, where they were to hear talks on "The Arms Race: Security or Suicide" by I. F. Stone and Dr. Stanley Livingston.

CPC Plans Major Anti-Bomb Campaign

A coordinated effort to stop the projected testing of nuclear weapons in the Pacific next April was planned by the country's leading peace and pacifist groups last month. The Consultative Peace

Council, to which most pacifist groups belong, appointed a "strategy committee" consisting of representatives of the FOR, the American Friends Service Committee, the Brethren Service Committee, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the Mennonite Central Committee and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

As outlined, the strategy committee will explore various methods for arousing public opinion against nuclear tests and other aspects of the arms race. Some projects will be carried on by various groups cooperatively; others will be "assigned" to individual organizations. First specific effort will be the distribution of petition forms in January by AFSC and FOR. Present plans call for the inclusion of a copy of the petition in the January issue of FELLOWSHIP.

Quaker Integrationist Gets Jail Sentence

On October 31, David H. Scull, a Virginia Quaker leader, was sentenced to ten days in jail and a $50 fine for refusing to answer questions put to him by Virginia's Law Reform and Racial Activities Committee concerning the activities of organizations working for integration. Scull is appealing the sentence, contending that the committee's investigations violated the First Amendment. "These tactics," he said, "now used against the NAACP and others in the integration controversy, could, if allowed to stand unchallenged, be used in the future against any other unpopular cause. . . . I have pledged allegiance to one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all and I regard that as a commitment to work for justice for all."

Scull was called before the Committee after the Fairfax White Citizens Council charged that he was permitting organizations opposed to segregation to use his post office box as a mailing address.

Fund Gives Grant For FOR Comic Book

The Fund for the Republic has granted $5000 to the FOR to aid the production of a comic book titled "Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story," to be published on January 10.

The sixteen-page book tells the story of the nonviolent movement in Montgomery, Ala. and why it succeeded. In a recent letter the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. wrote of the book: "Again, I would like to say what a fine piece of work this is. You have done a marvelous job of grasping the underlying truth and philosophy of the movement."

Copies will be available after January 10 from the FOR, Box 271, Nyack, New York, price 10¢.

New Committee Urges H-Test Ban

In the November 15 issue of *The New York Times,* the recently formed Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy ran a full-page advertisement headed: "We are facing a danger unlike any danger that has ever existed." The advertisement called for international control of satellites and guided missiles and a complete ban on

nuclear weapons tests. Members of the committee who signed the statement included Dr. John C. Bennett, Dean of Union Theological Seminary, Clark Eichelberger, Director of the American Association for the UN, Harold Fey, Editor of *Christian Century*, Dr. Erich Fromm, AFSC Executive Secretary Robert Gilmore, Oscar Hammerstein II, Dr. Paul Doty, Chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, Dr. Stanley Livingston, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Rev. Robert J. McCracken, Lewis Mumford, James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Dr. Paul J. Tillich of Harvard University.

Among FOR members who signed the statement were Homer A. Jack, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Clarence Pickett and Henry Hitt Crane.

Southern Methodists Probe Church Integration

Appearing before a fact-finding panel of the Methodist Church, South Carolina lawyer Hugo S. Sims stated last month: "We are not going to integrate our schools or our churches. . . . It doesn't make any difference what the Supreme Court or the Methodist Church does. This attitude will not change."

A series of hearings are being held across the country to determine the future of the Central (Negro) Jurisdiction and the voluntary integration of its churches. (See "In the Churches," FELLOWSHIP, November.)

Witnesses who oppose the present system said it is discriminatory and lacks any justification. Bishop Nolan B. Harmon told the panel that the Central Jurisdiction was agreed upon in 1939 "to protect the minority rights of regions. . . . Without this constitutional guarantee the Southern Church would never have accepted this plan of union." Further hearings are to be held.

World Leaders Protest S. Africa's Apartheid

On October 15, the American Committee on Africa issued a "Declaration of Conscience" calling for a world-wide protest against South Africa's apartheid policy. It was signed by 123 religious, political, civic and educational leaders from 38 countries. The Committee's executive director is FOR Executive Committee member George M. Houser.

The Declaration charged that the South African Government discriminates against all its non-white citizens, denies non-whites equality before the law, and denies to four-fifths of the nation the right to participate in its government. It called upon the peoples of the free world to join in a day of protest against this policy on Human Rights Day, December 10, and to "petition their organizations and their governments to use their influence to bring about a peaceful, just and democratic solution in South Africa."

"All men who believe in human dignity and the principle that freedom is not the prerogative of a single ethnic group," the signers stated, "no longer dare to remain silent in the face of widening repression of reason and justice."

Among FOR members who signed the Declaration were Bishop Sante Uberto Barbueru, Vera Brittain,

Benjamin Britten, Aldous Huxley, Martin Niemoller and Donald O. Soper. The document was also signed by Erich Fromm, Martin Luther King Jr., Toyohiko Kagawa, Trevor Huddleston, Anna Kethly, Walter P. Reuther, André Maurois, Bertrand Russell and many others.

Howard University Holds Convocation on Nonviolence

At the forty-first annual Convocation of Howard University, November 6-10, 222 people, including 88 ministers, attended meetings to discuss "Nonviolence and Social Change."

FOR members who participated included National Field Secretary Glenn E. Smiley, who served as moderator in symposiums on "Modern Techniques of Nonviolent Resistance" and "Religious Values at Work in Our Society"; former National Chairman John Oliver Nelson, who gave addresses on "Resistance and the Open Heart" and "While the World Waits"; Dr. William Stuart Nelson who spoke on "Satyagraha. Gandhian Principles of Nonviolent Non-cooperation"; and Dean of the Chapel at Howard University, Dr. Daniel G. Hill who presided over a session on "The Evolution of the Philosophy of Nonviolence." The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was guest preacher at the Sunday morning service.

During the meetings and in the speeches that followed the Convocation's banquet, the FOR was repeatedly commended for its work in the field of race relations, particularly in the South.

PRISONERS FOR PEACE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 21)

Other Dutch war resisters are in four groups. The addresses to which collective greetings may be sent are as follows:

Dienstweigeraarskamp Vledder
Besse, Kees

Rijks psychiatrische inrichtingen, Woensel, Eindhoven
Buiten, Henk van

Kamp Emmeloord, Kamer 17, Emmeloord, N. O. P.
Meijer, Simon

H. T. O. gebouw, Rijswijkseweg 342, Den Haag
Bergsma, Wolter

NORWAY

None known to be in prison. Those in alternative service are in *Civilarbeiderne* camps, of which there are three to which collective greetings may be sent:

Havnas leir, Mysen
Husiad leir, Julshamn
Dillingoy pr., Moss

SWEDEN

None known to be in prison. Swedish war resisters are in Civilian Work Establishments. Collective greetings should be addressed to *Vapenfria Varnpliktiga* in each case, followed by balance of address:

Asbro
Sunnanas, Gävlel 1
Universitetets skogsförvaltning, Uppsala
Revingehed
Garnisonsbrandkaren, Boden 19
Björkö, Adelsö

UNITED STATES

Federal Correctional Institution, Danbury, Conn.
Hoover, Aaron W.
Martin, Earl H.
Smith, Gerald S.
Tolbert, Jesse J.

Federal Correctional Institution, Terminal Island, Calif.
Davidson, Vern
Martinson, John

Federal Correctional Institute, Mill Point, W. Va.
Swartzentruber, Mose L.

Federal Prison Camp, Tucson, Arizona
Ayres, Joe Mike
Clark, Arthur P.
Klubnikin, Nick A.

IN THE churches

Southern Lutherans Consider Integration

At the annual convention of the Southern District of the Lutheran Church, held in New Orleans on November 4, member churches were asked to consider the question of admitting Negro congregations and pastors. Churches will report their findings at next year's convention, when a decision will be made. The Southern District is the only area of the denomination which does not administer its own mission work among Negroes.

The resolution was passed after a number of the delegates had asked for immediate admittance of the Negro groups in the district.

CHRISTUS VICTOR

QUARTERLY MAGAZINE
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

You will want to read the report by Traveling Secretary Hildegard Mayr on last summer's Moscow Youth Festival, plus other articles by world's leading pacifists in the December issue.

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CHRISTUS VICTOR
American IFOR Office
Box 271 • Nyack, N. Y.

Arkansas Baptist Students Favor Integration

Delegates to the Arkansas Baptist Student Union convention at Jonesboro, Ark., on October 16, adopted a statement supporting integration. Of the 360 representatives only one voted against the statement.

The statement said: "We believe that the Christian position in the matter of race relations includes: Upholding the teaching and example of Christ regarding the equal worth of all individuals. . . . Upholding the law of the land; abstaining from and discouraging violence in the settlement of any difficulty."

Negro Clergy Defy Segregation Law

On October 31, three Negro clergymen and two white Quaker women were arrested in Arlington, Va., for violating the State's segregation laws.

The ministers, the Rev. Thomas A. Robinson, The Rev. John L. Winters, and the Rev. C. C. Wilson, refused to sit in chairs set aside for colored persons at a political meeting.

Two white Quaker women were arrested at the same time when they sat in the area reserved for Negroes. The women, Mrs. Grace Oehser and Mrs. Abby Hadley said they did not know the ministers but wanted to join in testing "unconstitutional laws."

On November 19, charges against the women were dismissed on the ground that the policemen who witnessed the violation of the segregation law were not available to testify in court.

The ministers were officially released on a $200 bond but posting of the bond was not required. The ministers were congratulated for their courage in making the test by a number of white people who had gathered outside the police station.

Quakers Press UN For Arms Ban

On November 8, American, British and Canadian Quaker groups sent telegrams to all the United Nations delegations urging them to "work actively for unanimous Assembly action looking towards renewed disarmament negotiations."

The Quakers called for the suspension of all nuclear tests and the end of A- and H-bomb stockpiling with effective inspection and control of disarmament. The Friends proposed a general reduction of armed forces with the savings thus incurred to be used to raise the living standards of mankind.

The telegrams were signed by the International Quaker Team at the UN, the AFSC, the British Friends Peace Committee and the Canadian Friends Service Committee.

Georgia Ministers Urge Christian Stand on Race

Eighty Protestant clergymen in Atlanta, Ga., have joined in urging understanding and the application of "the teachings our Lord and Master" as a solution to racial problems. The statement was made

1958

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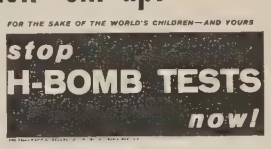

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by ministers attending the Atlanta Christian Council but was not presented on behalf of that organization.

The ministers stated that, because of the moral and spiritual aspects of racial problems, "men who occupy places of responsibility in the churches should not be silent concerning their convictions," and added that their sentiments "are shared by a multitude of our fellow citizens . . . who know that hatred, defiance and violence are not the answer to our problems, but who have been without a voice and have found no way to make their influence effective."

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FELLOWSHIP INDEX

1957

Abernathy, Rev. Ralph D., Feb 24, Apr 17
Abner, Willoughby, quoted Jul 11
Aaron, Judge, Nov 27 f
Adams, Sherman, Feb 26
Adenauer, Konrad, Jun 27, Jul 26
Africa, American Committee on, Apr 20, Dec 24
AFTER TOKYO, *Arthur Delamarter & Homer A. Jack*, Nov 8
Agatha Harrison, Irene Harrison, rev'd Apr 25
American Forum, Jul 31, Nov 11
American Friends Service Committee, Jan 19, Mar 13, May 26, Oct 19 f, Dec 10ff, Dec 22
Amstutz, Rev. H. B., Feb 28
Anshen, Ruth Nanda, quoted Jan 2
Apartheid, Jan 20, Jun 30, Oct 26
AN APPEAL TO MANKIND, *Albert Schweitzer*, Jun 23
Appeal to the United Nations, Nov 8 f
Arkansas, Nov 27, Dec 26
Armed Forces Day, Jun 4
Australia, Jun 28
Ayers, Joe M., Apr 20

Balch, Emily Greene, Feb 27
Baldwin Wallace College, Nov 25
Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, Jun 28, Jul 25
Barrat, Robert, Jul 13
Barrett, George, quoted Apr 8
Barth, Karl, Jul 26
Beaton, Grace M., Nov 23, 26
Bennett, John C., quoted Jan 3
Berlin, May 22
THE BIGOTS ARE MAKING THE NOISE, *Harry L. Golden*, Sept 9
Blake, Eugene Carson, Feb 28
Blank, Dr. Joost de, Oct 26
Bollardiere, Gen. Jacques Paris de, May 26
Bongartz, Cecilia, SHARING IS KID STUFF, Oct 19
Braun, Theodore, RACISM'S LAST STAND, May 16
Bristol, James E., OUR OWN WORST ENEMIES, Oct 11, Dec 9 ff
Brotherhood in Christ, Nov 20
Bruler, Jean, May 26
Brumbaugh, T. T., Feb 25
Burma, Mar 2
Buskes, Rev. J. J., Nov 20

Cadbury, H. J., quoted Jul 27
Calvert, Ellamae, WHEREWITH YOU ARE CALLED, May 13
Campbell, Will D., THE DEEP SOUTH SAYS "PRETTY SOON," Sept 7
Cannon, Robert L., Jan 8, Apr 17
Capital Punishment, Jun 29, Jul 27
Carolina Israelite, quoted Jun 1
THE CASE AGAINST PACIFISM . . . ANSWERED, Wallace Hancock, May 5
Catchpool, Corder, Apr 26
CHANGE IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY, *Carl Landes*, Sept 15
China, Oct 6
Christian Herald, Jul 30
Christmas Islands, May 27, Jun 25, 28
Chumley, Rev. Charles, Oct 25 f
Churches, Councils of, May 29, Nov 25, 28
Civil Defense, Jan 4, Apr 3, May 4 f, Jul 2, Sept 2
Civil Liberties, Jun 16, 30
Communist Party, Jan 2 f, Mar 23 f, May 3, 23, Jun 14 f, Sept 19 ff, Nov 8 ff
Conscientious Objectors, Feb 26, Apr 8, 13, 20, Jul 25, 30, Sept 27, Nov 22, 28
Conscription, Apr 8
THE COST OF CONSCIENCE, Apr 8
CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY, Giovanni Piolo, Mar 5

Daily Express (London), Jul 27
DEEP IN THE HEART OF DIXIE, *L. H. Pitts*, Sept 17 "The Deep South Says Never," Nov 3 ff
THE DEEP SOUTH SAYS "PRETTY SOON," *Will D. Campbell*, Sept 7
Defense Dept. (U. S.), Nov 24 f
Delamarter, Arthur, OUT OF THE ASHES, Nov 8
Dennis, Eugene, Mar 24
Dilworth, Sen. Nelson, Apr 16
Dolci, Danilo, Mar 6 ff
A DROWSY NUMBNESS PAINS MY SENSES, *Helen Mears*, Oct 5
Dying We Live, ed. Helmut Gollwitzer, Reinhold Schneider, Kathe Kuhn, rev'd Apr 25

East, P. D., Jun 2
Eastland, Sen. James O., Jul 31
Eby, Kermit, *The Paradoxes of Democracy*, rev'd Oct 27
Eichel, Julius, Jul 30
Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship, Nov 25

FACING THE CHALLENGE OF A NEW AGE, *Martin Luther King Jr.*, Feb 3
Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology, Pitirim A. Sorokin, rev'd Jan 24
Fahy, Charles, quoted Jul 20
F B I, Jun 14 f, 25, Jul 24 ff
The Fall of Christianity, Nov 20
FALSE GANDHIISM, *Wallace Hamilton*, Feb 20
Farmer, H. H., Jul 21
Farmer, James, Mar 29
THE FELLOWSHIP ABROAD: KERKEN VREDE, Nov 20
Fellowship Camp, Mar 30
The Fellowship in S. Africa, Nov 20
Ferris, Rev. Raymond T., Oct 25
Fitzgerald, Lawrence P., Jul 30
F O R, Jan 7 ff, May 20 f, Jun 15, 20, Nov 20, Dec 22, 23, 25

F O R, British, Jan 20, Jul 27
F O R, Executive, Feb 24, Apr 16, May 23 f, Jul 24, Oct 22, Nov 24
F O R, National Council, Mar 28, Apr 17, May 24, Jun 15, 25 ff, Jul 24 ff, Sept 25 f
F O R, New York, Nov 25
FOREIGN POLICY AND THE LAW OF CHARITY, *James L. Vizzard*, Jan 5
Fosdick, Harry Emerson, *The Living of These Days*, rev'd Apr 25, Dec 24
France, Jul 13 ff
Freedom for Cyprus, Christopher Lake, rev'd Feb 32
Freundschaftsheim, Oct 24
FROM A NATIONAL CEMETRY, poem, *Mary Cate Fullerson*, May 21
Fromm, Erich, *The Art of Loving*, Jan 2, Nov 16, 24, Dec 24
Fullerson, Mary Cate, FROM A NATIONAL CEMETRY, May 21
Furnas, J. C., *Goodbye to Uncle Tom*, rev'd Feb 29

Gandhi, Mohandas K., Feb 20 f, Jun 12, Nov 16
Ghana, Mar 31, Apr 19, Jun 12
Golden, Harry L., THE BIGOTS ARE MAKING THE NOISE, Sept 9, quoted Jun 1, Nov 4 f
Gollwitzer, Helmut, *Dying We Live*, rev'd Apr 25
Goodbye to Uncle Tom, J. C. Furnas, rev'd Feb 29
Graetz, Robert, THE SOUTH'S OTHER ARMY, Sept 11, Jan 18, Feb 24, Nov 4 f
Green, Peter H., Sept 27 f
Greenlief, June, *The Paradoxes of Democracy*, rev'd Oct 27
Gregg, Richard B., NONVIOLENCE AT MIDCENTURY, Jun 11, *The Self Beyond Yourself*, rev'd Feb 30
Gussner, Robert, rev *The Self Beyond Yourself*, Feb 30

Hallowe'en, Oct 19 f
Hamilton, Wallace, FALSE GANDHIISM, Feb 20
Hancock, Wallace, THE CASE AGAINST PACIFISM . . . ANSWERED, May 5
Harrison, Irene, *Agatha Harrison*, rev'd Apr 25
Hassler, Alfred, SHARP TURN TO THE CENTER, Mar 23, May 23, Jul 24, 30, Sept 25, Nov 24
Haverford College, Nov 24
H-Bomb, May 27, Jun 21, 23, 25, 28, Jul 26 f, Sept 1 f, 26, 29, Nov 2, 8, 28
Henderson, Ky., May 16 ff
Hill, Mary Shadow, Jun 21
Hoagland, Robert S., rev *The Paradoxes of Democracy, Toward a More Democratic Social Order*, Oct 27
Hodson, Conrad, (letter) Jul 23
Hoopes, Darlington, Jun 20
Hoover J. Edgar, May 24, Jun 14 ff
Hughes, William R., *Indomitable Friend*, rev'd Apr 25

Iglehart, Charles W., Sept 25
Income tax, Federal, Apr 14 f, Jul 4
India, Feb 20 f, Mar 1
Indomitable Friend, William R. Hughes, rev'd Apr 25
International F O R, Jan 14 ff, May 25, Jun 28, Nov 20
International Voluntary Service for Peace, Apr 17, May 25

Jack, Homer A., SOME HARD LESSONS, Nov 9, Dec. 24
Japan, May 23, Oct 3 f, Nov 8 ff
Jehovah's Witnesses, Nov 22
Johnson, Byron, Jun 21
Jones, Rev. Ashton, Apr 18, May 28
Jones, E. Stanley, Feb 26
Jordan, Rev. Clarence, May 24, Nov 25
The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, John Wexley, rev'd Jan 25

Kepler, Mr. & Mrs. Roy C., LETTER TO A TAX COLLECTOR, Apr 14
KERK EN VREDE, Nov 20
King, Rev. Martin Luther Jr., Jan 19, FACING THE CHALLENGE OF A NEW AGE, Feb 3, Mar 31, Apr 21, Jul 28, Nov 27, Dec 25
Kishi, Nobusuke, Sept 25, Oct 3 f, Nov 27
THE KLAN HAS SPENT ITSELF, *Dan Whitsett*, Sept 13
Knight, Gov. Goodwin, Jun 29
Knowles, Mary, Mar 30
Koinonia Community, Jan 19, Mar 31, Apr 16, May 27, Oct 23 f
Korea, Apr 5 ff
Ku Klux Klan, Mar 28, May 27, Sept 7, Nov 27
Kuhn, Kathe, *Dying We Live*, rev'd Apr 25

Labor, Jul 6 ff
Labor Party, British, May 27
Lafollette, Sen. Robert M., Jun 21
Lake, Christopher, *Freedom for Cyprus*, rev'd Feb 32
Landes, Carl, CHANGE IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY, Sept 15
Larrabee, Kent R., Sept 25
THE LAW OF THE HARVEST, *Kirby Page*, Oct 10
Lawrence, Charles R. Jr., rev *Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology*, Jan 24, Apr 17, rev *Goodbye to Uncle Tom*, Feb 29, Sept 25, Nov 25
Lawrence, Margaret, Nov 25
Lehrman, Hal, *Portrait of Israel; Myth and Reality*, rev'd Oct 28
Lens, Sid, UNITED LABOR AND THE DIVIDED RACES, Jul 5, POLAND AFTER POZNAN, Sept 19, NEW LIGHT FOR THE LEFT, Nov 11
Lentz, Theo. F., *Towards a Science of Peace*, rev'd Jan 23
LETTER FROM SEOUL, *Floyd Schmoe*, Apr 5
A LETTER TO MR. HOOVER, *A.J. Muste*, Jun 14
LETTER TO A TAX COLLECTOR, *Mr. & Mrs. Roy C. Kepler*, Apr 14
Libby, Dr. Willard F., Oct 3 f, Nov 28
The Link, Jul 30
Lippmann, Walter, quoted, Jun 9
Little Rock, (Ark) Oct 25 f, Nov 7, 27, 29
The Living of These Days, Harry Emerson Fosdick, rev'd Apr 25
Loukes, Harold, PACIFISM FOR CHILDREN, Apr 10
Luther, Martin, Apr 22 f

MacArthur, Gen. Douglas, quoted Sept 24
Macy, Paul G., Jun 26, 29
Mankind Set Free, quoted Mar 16
Martin, John Bartlow, Sept 1, 4 ff, Nov 2
Marx, Karl, Nov 12 ff
Massingnon, Prof., Jul 12 f
A Matter of Fact, film, rev'd Jan 28
Mayr, Dr. Hildegard, Jul 32, Sept 25, Nov 26
McConnell, Richard M., WAR WORDS AND TIRED SYMBOLS, Jun 5
McGill, Ralph, Nov 4
McKenney, John L., A TEACHER OF LOGIC, Dec 5
McLuhan, Herbert Marshall, quoted Jun 9
Mears, Helen, A DROWSY NUMBNESS PAINS MY SENSES, Oct 5
The Mechanical Bride, quoted Jun 9
Menninger, Dr. Karl, quoted May 11, Jun 29
Mensching, Wilhelm, Jun 28, Oct 24
Methodist Church, Nov 29, Dec 24
The Mill of Peace, Jul 12 ff
Miller, Benjamin, NONVIOLENCE AND ETHICAL ENDS, Mar 14
Miller, William Robert, OUR PEACE-MINDED POLITICOS, Jun 20, Nov 24, THREE QUESTIONS AND A CONSCIENCE, Dec 9
Mills, C. Wright, quoted Apr 9
Montgomery, Ala., Feb 19, 24, Mar 28, Nov 18
Montgomery Improvement Assn., Jan 18, Feb 12, Apr 17
Moody, Curtiss, Oct 23, Nov 25
Moravian Church, Oct 26
Murray, Don, Jan 20
Muste, Dr. A. J., A LETTER TO MR. HOOVER, Jun 14, WHAT IS THE F O R? Jan 7, *Where Are We Now?*, rev'd Feb 32, May 3, 23, quoted Jul 23, 31, Nov 25
Mutual Security Program, Jun 2 f

NAACP, May 28, 29, Nov 29
Nagasaki, Nov 8 f
Nashville, Tenn., Oct 25 f
Nehru, Pandit, Nov 27
Netherlands, Nov 20 f
NEVER IS A LONG, LONG TIME, *Harold White*, Sept 6
NEW LIGHT FOR THE LEFT, *Sid Lens*, Nov 11
New York Post, quoted Jan 4, May 25, Jun 14
New York Times, Oct 5 ff, quoted Nov 28, Dec 23
Niemoeller, Dr. Martin, Jan 21, Nov 24
Nkrumah, Kwame, Jun 12
Noble, Josephine, REPORT FROM THE MILL OF PEACE, Jul 12
NONVIOLENCE AND ETHICAL ENDS, *Benjamin Miller*, Mar 14
NONVIOLENCE AT MIDCENTURY, *Richard B. Gregg*, Jun 11
Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, Sept 26, Nov 26
Nuclear Weapons, Nov 27 f

On the Move, film, rev'd Jan 29
The Organization Man, W. H. Whyte Jr., rev'd Apr 24
Orr, John B. Jr., May 28

O'Shea, Bernard, Jun 21 f
OUR OWN WORST ENEMIES, *James E. Bristol*, Oct 11
OUR PEACE-MINDED POLITICOS, *William Robert Miller*, Jun 20
OUT OF THE ASHES, *Arthur Delamarter*, Nov 8
Oxnam, Bishop G. Bromley, May 29

PACIFISM FOR CHILDREN, *Harold Loukes*, Apr 10
Page, Kirby, THE LAW OF THE HARVEST, Oct 10, May 25, Jul 25
The Paradoxes of Democracy, Kermit Eby and June Greenlief, rev'd Oct 27
Pauling, Dr. Linus, Jul 26
Paullin, Theodore, quoted Mar 18
The Petal Paper, Jun 2, quoted Sept 5
Pioli, Giovanni, CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY, Mar 5
Pitts, L. H., DEEP IN THE HEART OF DIXIE, Sept 17
PLAN FIVE: THE STORY OF A MAN WHO LIKES FLOWERS, *Jack Ross*, Dec 17
Point IV, Jun 3
Poland, Sept 19 ff, Oct 23, Nov 19, 28
POLAND AFTER POZNAN, *Sid Lens*, Sept 19
Portrait of Israel: Myth and Reality, Hal Lehrman, rev'd Oct 28
The Power Elite, quoted Apr 9
THE PRICE OF SILENCE, *Lillian Smith*, Sept 4
Prisoners for Peace, Nov 22, Dec 20 ff

Quaker Cove Camp, Jul 30
Quarles, Donald A., Jul 26

Rachlin, Carl, Jun 14 f
RACISM'S LAST STAND, *Theodore Braun*, May 16
Radiation, Jul 2 f
Rankin, Jeanette, Jun 21
Rees, Dr. Elfan, quoted Jan 22
Reeves, Dr. Richard Ambrose, Jun 30
REPORT FROM THE MILL OF PEACE, *Josephine Noble*, Jul 12
Research Soc. for Creative Altruism, Oct 22 f
Richards, Leyton, Jul 17 f
THE RIGHT WAY IS NOT A MODERATE WAY, *Lillian Smith*, Feb 13
Riles, Wilson, Jun 27
Rosenberg, Bernard, Jun 17
Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel, Jan 25 f
Ross, Jack, PLAN FIVE: THE STORY OF A MAN WHO LIKES FLOWERS, Dec 17
Rosten, Norman, quoted Jun 19
R. O. T. C., Jul 28 f, Sept 29
Russia, Nov 1, 25
Rutenber, Dr. Culbert G., Feb 27

Saturday Evening Post, Sept 3 ff, Nov 2 f
Sayre, John Nevin, TURNING ENEMIES INTO FRIENDS, Jan 14, rev *Towards a Science of Peace*, Jan 23, Feb 25, *The Church As Peacemaker in the World Today*, rev'd Feb 32, Sept 25

Schmoe, Floyd, LETTER FROM SEOUL, Apr 5
Schneider, Reinhold, *Dying We Live,* rev'd Apr 25
Schweitzer, Albert, AN APPEAL TO MANKIND, Jun 23
Scott, Lawrence, Nov 26
Seebohm, Frederick, quoted Jul 15
Segregation, Jul 10 ff, 15, Sept 3 ff, Nov 3, 27, Dec 23, 26
The Self Beyond Yourself, Richard B. Gregg, rev'd Feb 30
Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Jun 14 ff
Seoul, Apr 5 f
Sergio, Lisa, quoted Jun 13
SHARING IS KID STUFF, *Cecilia Bongartz,* Oct 19
SHARP TURN TO THE CENTER, *Alfred Hassler,* Mar 23
A Short Vision, film, rev'd Apr 28
Shuttlesworth, Rev. F. L., Feb. 23, Apr 19, Nov 27
SIX WEAKNESSES OF NON-PACIFIST THEOLOGY, Warren E. Steinkraus, Jul 16
Smiley, Glenn E., Feb 24, Apr 17, Jul 24, 28, Oct 22, Nov 25, 27, Dec 25
Smith Act, Jun 14 ff
Smith, Gerald S., Sept 27
Smith, Lillian, THE RIGHT WAY IS NOT A MODERATE WAY, Feb 13, THE PRICE OF SILENCE, Sept 4, Nov 4 f
Sobell, Morton, Jan 25 f
Socialist Party, Jun 20 f, Nov 11 ff
SOME HARD LESSONS, *Homer A. Jack,* Nov 9
Sorgi, Nino, Mar 11
Sorokin, Pitirim A., *Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology,* rev'd Jan 24
The South, Sept 3 ff, Nov 3 f, 29
South Africa, Jan 20, Apr 20, Jun 30, Oct 26, Dec 24
THE SOUTH'S OTHER ARMY, *Robert Graetz,* Sept 11
START YOUR CHRISTMAS CARING EARLY, Arlo Tatum, Nov 22
Steere, Douglas V., Apr 17, Jun 26
Steinkraus, Warren E., SIX WEAKNESSES OF NON-PACIFIST THEOLOGY, Jul 16
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, Feb 29 f
Study of History, Arnold Toynbee, quoted Oct 10
Swomley, John M. Jr., rev *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg,* Jan 25, Apr 16, Jun 25

Tatum, Arlo, START YOUR CHRISTMAS CARING EARLY, Nov 22
A TEACHER OF LOGIC, *John L. McKenney,* Dec. 5
THERE IS ANOTHER SOUTH, Sept 3, Nov 2 ff
THEY CAN AFFORD IT, *Franklin Zahn,* Apr 13
Thomas, Norman, Mar 23, Jun 15 f, 20
Thomas, Wendell, *Toward a More Democratic Social Order,* rev'd Oct 27
THREE QUESTIONS AND A CONSCIENCE, *William Robert Miller,* Dec 9
Tokyo Declaration, Nov 8 ff
Toward a More Democratic Social Order, Wendell Thomas, rev'd Oct 27
Towards a Science of Peace, Theodore F. Lentz, rev'd Jan 23
Trocmé, André, May 27, Jun 28, Jul 13 ff, Oct 24
Trocmé, Magda, May 27, Jul 15
Tucholsky, Kurt, THE WHITE SPOTS, May 22
TURNING ENEMIES INTO FRIENDS, *John Nevin Sayre,* Jan 14

Uncle Tom's Cabin, Feb 29 f
UNICEF, Oct 19 f
United Church Women, Jun 30
UNITED LABOR AND THE DIVIDED RACES, *Sid Lens,* Jul 5
United Student Christian Council, Nov 27

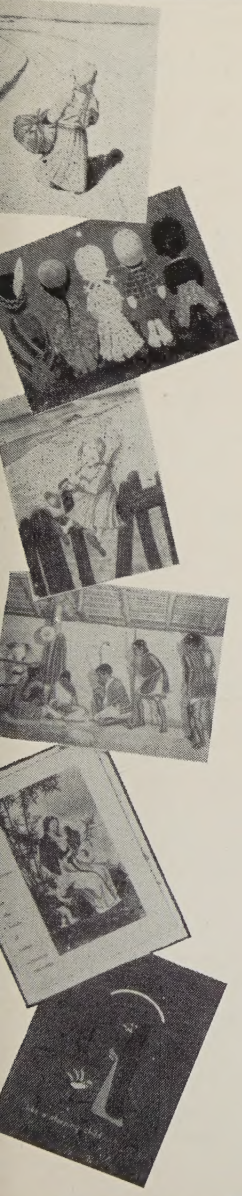
The Valley of Decision, rev'd Oct 28
Vasto, Lanzo del, Jul 14
Vining, Elizabeth Gray, *The Virginia Exiles,* rev'd Jan 27
The Virginia Exiles, Elizabeth Gray Vining, rev'd Jan 27
Vizzard, James L., FOREIGN POLICY AND THE LAW OF CHARITY, Jan 5

The Waiting Ones, film, rev'd Jan 29
Walk to Freedom, film, Apr 17 f
Walker, Dr. Alan, quoted Jun 28
Walker, Charles C., Jul 27, Nov 26, Dec 22
WAR WORDS AND TIRED SYMBOLS, *Richard M. McConnell,* Jun 5
Washington, D.C., May 28, Nov 26, Dec 22
Weizsäcker, Prof. Carl Friedrich von, Jun 27
Wexley, John, *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg,* rev'd Jan 25
What About War?, rev'd Oct 28
WHAT IS THE FOR?, *A. J. Muste,* Jan 7
Where Are We Now?, A. J. Muste, rev'd Feb 32
WHEREWITH YOU ARE CALLED, *Ellamae Calvert,* May 13
White Citizens Council, Mar 29, Apr 18, May 17 f
White, Harold, NEVER IS A LONG, LONG TIME, Sept 6
THE WHITE SPOTS, *Kurt Tucholsky,* May 22
Whitsett, Dan, THE KLAN HAS SPENT ITSELF, Sept 13, Nov 5
Witherspoon, Frances, rev *The Virginia Exiles,* Jan 27, rev *The Living of These Days, Indomitable Friend, Agatha Harrison, Dying We Live,* Apr 25
World Conference Against A- and H-Bombs, Nov 8 f
World Council of Churches, Sept 28 f
World Festival For Youth and Students, Nov 25
World Without End, film, rev'd Jan 28
Worley, Francis, Jun 21
Worthy, William, May 26
W R I, Apr 8, Nov 22 f
W R L, Nov 26

The Year That Flowered, film, rev'd Jan 29

Zahn, Franklin, THEY CAN AFFORD IT, Apr 13

FELLOWSHIP GREETINGS



THE YEAR is drawing to a close. It has been a memorable one for us at the Fellowship's offices. We started off by moving from our cramped New York headquarters to the Peace Center, Shadowcliff. Since then we have had plenty to do—The Montgomery Story comic book, for example; we expect to have a quarter of a million copies to distribute beginning next month. And there is also our new line of quality paperback books, leading off with Allan A. Hunter's *Christians in the Arena* and a reprint of Alfred Hassler's *Diary of a Self-Made Convict*, both to be published on January 1, 1958.

For another of 1957's seedlings that will come into bloom in 1958, see the back cover of this issue.

Thus we greet Christmas this year in a spirit of rejoicing and renewal of purpose, and we extend to all our friends not only hearty greetings but also deeply felt thanks for the support that has sustained us in our efforts. We thank you not only for your contributions of money for the Fellowship's vital work, but also for your words of support and counsel. We thank you, too, for buying so many of our Christmas cards that we had to ask you to specify alternate choices.

Now we're getting ready for the 1958 cards. Why not send us the names of your friends who would like to receive the Fellowship Cards announcement next fall? There's no time like December to think about it—and do it. Meanwhile, a very Merry Christmas, and again, many thanks.

P.S. We can still fill late orders for this year's cards if you rush them in.

RING OUT THE OLD,

RING IN THE NEW

With the coming of the new year, you will receive a *new* FELLOWSHIP. As you see above, it's larger than the old. The type you are now reading is the type in which it will be set, and this column is the new column width. Instead of eleven monthly issues as previously, you will get six issues of the larger magazine, each containing 1½ times as much material as in the old. But wait a moment—see the colored sheet inside? That's the big extra—a four-page "news and comment" edition that will come to you twice a month, 24 times a year. The subscription price remains the same—$3 (special student rate, $2.50). We think you'll like it. Could you imagine a better time for sending in that gift subscription you were thinking about?

Listed below are some of the features you will read in the big new January 1 issue of the *new* FELLOWSHIP:

HENRY J. CADBURY

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Is the Church doing its part in creating a warless world? A major contribution by the chairman of the American Friends Service Committee.

MARTIN NIEMÖLLER

SONS OF GOD

A courageous pacifist churchman relates the meaning of Christ to the present crisis.

KIRBY PAGE

A VISIT TO EUROPE

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